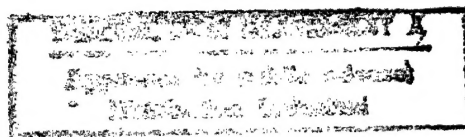


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1 June 1982



# West Europe Report

No. 1972

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## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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## OFFICIAL GAZETTE PUBLISHES TRADE AGREEMENT WITH ALBANIA

Ankara RESMI GAZETE in Turkish No 17653, 3 Apr 82 pp 1-4

[Text of trade protocol for 1982, supplement to Trade Agreement of 26 March 1979]

[Text] International Agreement

Decision Number: 8/4361

By decision of the Council of Ministers on 11 February 1982, the supplemental Trade Protocol related to the exchange of goods to take place in 1982 which was signed in Ankara between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is approved, pursuant to Foreign Ministry certificate No EKGM-II: 662. 113.1/82-238 of 15 February 1982 and in accordance with articles 3 and 5 of Law No 244 of 31 May 1963.

Trade Protocol Related to the Exchange of Goods to Take Place in 1982 Between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania [in boldface]

The Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in order to facilitate and develop commercial exchange between the two countries in accordance with Article 2 of the Trade Agreement of 26 March 1979, have reached agreement on the following matters:

## Article 1

Commercial exchanges between the Republic of Turkey and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will be conducted in accordance with the Lists which are attached to and inseparable from this Protocol, consisting of List "A-1982" (Goods To Be Exported From the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Turkey) and List "B-1982" (Goods To Be Exported From the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania).

## Article 2

Matters not specified in this Protocol will be resolved according to the provisions of the Trade Agreement of 26 March 1979, signed in Tirana between the

Government of the Republic of Turkey and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

### Article 3

Goods not included in lists "A-1982" and "B-1982" whose import and export are subject to control under existing regulations in both nations or whose quotas have been exhausted may be imported and exported provided that prior permission is obtained from the competent authorities of both nations.

This Protocol will be effective between the dates of 1 January 1982 and 31 December 1982 inclusive.

Written in the form of two original copies in the Turkish and Albanian languages, each being equally valid, in Ankara on 26 December 1981.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Turkey, Kemal Canturk, Minister of Commerce

On behalf of the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Nedin Hoxha, Minister of Foreign Trade

### List "A-1982"

Goods To Be Exported From the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Turkey

Series No	Customs Rate List and Reference No	Item	Value (millions of dollars)
1	12.07.90	Other plants used only in food industry and in medicine (excluding ceti otu [unknown], buckgrass and juniper berries). (Henna, henna bark for the Red Crescent)	.100
2	15.11.10	Nitration glycerin only (for Machine and Chemical Industry needs)	.500
3	25.02	Unfired iron pyrites	1.200
4	25.03.10	Refined sulfur, noncarbon-	.250
	25.03.20	sulfur-soluble sulfur	
	25.03.90	and others	
5	27.10.31	Diesel fuel	6.300
6	27.14.20	Only oil bitumen	3.600
7	28.45.39	Other silicates	.100
8	29.25.21	Urea (45 percent and above nitrogen content)	unspecified
9	38.19.11	Naphthenic acids and sulfonaphthenic acids	.030
10	48.01.21,29	Papers of 50-55g/m <sup>2</sup> weight	unspecified
11	48.01.40	Printing and writing papers	.700
12	74.03	Copper profiles, wire	3.500
13	85.20	Electric light bulbs	.320
14	90.16.30	Micrometers	.200
15	90.16.40	Gauges and scales	.200
16	--	Miscellaneous	2.000

List "B-1982"

Goods To Be Exported From the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist  
Republic of Albania

<u>Series</u> <u>No</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Value</u> <u>(millions of</u> <u>dollars)</u>
1	Beer barley	.600
2	Linseed oil	.150
3	Pulverized barite	.020
4	Sinter magnesite	unspecified
5	Talc	unspecified
6	Borax	.030
7	Mercury	.250
8	Sodium perborate	.120
9	Drugs and raw materials	.300
10	Plant extracts used in tanning	unspecified
11	Pesticides	.150
12	Bicycle tires and inner tubes	.400
13	Cotton	7.000
14	Lining material and satin	.390
15	Assorted cotton, wool and synthetic fabrics	1.000
16	Galvanized steel wire	unspecified
17	Special steels	.500
18	Steel cable	.100
19	Steel pipe (seamless)	.300
20	Sheet bronze and brass	.400
21	Aluminum profiles and wire	.100
22	Sheet aluminum	unspecified
23	Aluminum foil for cigarette packaging	.300
24	School supplies	.100
25	Refracting clay and fire clay	.500
26	Sesame paste	.150
27	Pulverized lime	.240
28	Acrylic, polyester thread	unspecified
29	Detergent raw materials	.150
30	Synthetic rubber	.250
31	Miscellaneous	2.000

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CSO: 4654/286



## ILICAK EXAMINES COURSE OF LAND REFORM

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 4 Mar 82 pp 1, 14

[Text] The Land and Agriculture Reform Bill is being prepared in great secrecy. To understand the bill is seen as an important accomplishment. What is this curtain of secrecy covering the issue? Let no one hear, let no one see, let no one shout, "the title deed is being torn apart!" Nobody should think that the bill is dictated by a "the-land-belongs-to-whomever-cultivates-it" philosophy.

The new bill is based on Land Reform Act No 1757. Before the memorandum of 12 March, propaganda to the effect that "the reforms proposed by the constitution are not being carried out, the government is taking a stand against the constitution" was at work. In fact, immediately after 12 March, the Land Reform Act was put on the agenda. The bill took its initial form under the leadership of Attila Karaosmanoglu, who declared that Turkey would attain the level of Italy only in the year 2227. Efforts continued after the departure of the 11 from the government, and finally Act 1757 was put in effect in 1973. The Constitutional Court repealed the law on formal grounds on 10 May 1977 but granted Parliament a year to prepare new legislation. When the repeal was put in effect on 10 May 1978, the new law was not ready. Therefore, all nationalization and apportionment activities came to a halt in 1978.

In Urfa, which had been selected as a pilot area, some 1,770,000 donums [1 donum = .25 acres] of land was expropriated up to 10 May 1978. However, only 176,500 donums of land was distributed to a total of 1,175 families (Source: State Minister Enver Akova's budget talk of 23 December 1978).

#### The Bill Is on the Agenda Again

This issue, which had been in limbo for a long time following repeal of the Land and Agriculture Reform Act, is once more on our agenda. At first glance, the issue appears attractive. Exploitation of the poor peasant by the land-lord will be prevented, the thousand-year dream of the farmer will be realized and the migration from the village to the city will thus be stopped, etc.

However, a very important point is not taken into consideration. CHP [Republican People's Party] Minister Enver Akova has articulated this fact as follows, "My dear friends, 75,000 farmer families in Urfa have applied for land.

Simple arithmetic, however, shows that the land in Urfa, owned by individuals and the Treasury and nationalized as a result of the efforts undertaken, can meet the demands of only 18,000 farmer families. You cannot give any more; it is impossible. The indices point out to this, the norms indicate it. So where are you going to shift the farmer families that are not among the 18,000? Either you transfer them to other villages or provide them with jobs by sending them to industrial areas."

Akova's remarks, which we have from the records, apply to the rest of Turkey. The demands of only a small number of farming families can be met by the apportioned lands. It is stated in the Land and Agriculture Reform Bill that there are 1.7 million farmer families without land in Turkey. The bill has chosen to remain silent with respect to the land to be nationalized. Yet this is the most important point. In fact, in the land and agriculture reform studies over recent years, the numbers were put down in bold print. In the book "Turkey in Numbers With Respect to Land and Agriculture Reform," published by the Land and Agriculture Undersecretariat of the Office of the Prime Minister, it was stated that the land to be nationalized amounted to 8,332,000 donums. Today, this issue is mentioned only in passing. How much land will be nationalized and how many farmer families will benefit from it?

#### Some Figures

The bill does not clarify this point. It only states, in reference to the fourth 5-year plan, that the land occupied by large organizations (277,000,000 donums) corresponds to 15.4 percent of the agricultural land in Turkey. However, 42.6 million donums, which makes up 15.4 percent of the 277,000,000 donums will certainly not be nationalized. First and foremost, the point of departure for the bill is erroneous, because not the lands "given to organizations" but property land should be taken as a standard. In the fourth 5-year plan the area occupied by property land is to be 42 million donums. The Land and Agriculture Reform Bill indicates that in arid areas, up to 2,000 donums of land will be left to the owners in certain areas. In other words, a nationalization far below the 42 million donums potential will be realized. How much land will be nationalized? This is not clear. But if it is put down in bold print, as was the case in the old law, the defect will be obvious.

If 15 million donums of land are distributed to 1.7 million families, the share of land per family will be less than 10 donums. This much land cannot support a family. Furthermore, there are those with little land who will benefit from this law.

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CSO: 4654/220

## KETENCI EXAMINES WARNINGS OF ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 11 Mar 82 p 6

[Text] It may have escaped public attention. It can also be considered a subjective evaluation. Nevertheless, we must emphasize that "dangerous tendencies" with respect to the future of democracy emerged at the conference on "The Effects of Wage Policies on the Economic Development of Our Country" organized by the Turkish Economic Legal Research Fund.

No one can have any objection to "rewarding work and productivity and withdrawing incentives for laziness." It may also be true that discrepancies in wages decreased as a result of the collective bargaining made possible by a free trade union system and the policies pursued by trade unions with the objective of raising the workers' standard of living.

However, it is impossible not to object to the most authoritative voices representing our employers along with the most authoritative representatives of the DPT [State Planning Organization] and the YHK [Supreme Arbitration Council] for trying to show that growth in productivity can only and solely be generated by creating differences in wages. Solutions proposed in the process of searching for answers to questions "how can wage differences among workers be created depending on the work, how can the productivity-wage connection be established"--as if these were the sole concerns of Turkish businesses--are not only conflicting but also reflect, in our opinion, "dangerous tendencies."

You might say, "The number of unemployed in Turkey cannot be found by subtracting the number of the employed from the working-age population. There is an extended family structure and great familial support in Turkey. The unemployed can find for themselves a number of peripheral occupations and material support within the family. Unemployment is not as grave a problem as it is thought to be." Then you would propose a solution along the following lines, "When determining minimum wages, unemployment cannot be ignored. Instead of a high minimum wage a low minimum wage policy that allows for the employment of a greater number of workers should be pursued. In determining minimum wages, only the livelihood of the individual and not that of the family should be taken as the standard."

You would regard equal wages paid to skilled and unskilled workers as the cause of hampered productivity and even of the increasing cost of production, loss of quality and, finally, of inflation and devaluation. Immediately thereafter, you would confess, "There was a great increase in productivity due to the restoration of peace at the work sites in the wake of 12 September but because of large inventories I decided not to let the plants work productively and made resolutions to decrease productivity." If a productivity-related wage policy is established, will the worker be held responsible for the declining productivity caused by high inventories and hundreds of other management-related causes?

And after regarding the creation of wage differences as the main objective and presenting it as such, you would ask, for the sake of rescuing our economy, that not only the wages of beginning workers but those of all unqualified workers be determined with respect to the realities of unemployment and productivity, forgetting in the process the fact that the worker is a human being who has to live. To decrease the wages of workers who are not skilled and whose wages are deemed too high, you would say, "If inflation is 25 percent, a 5-percent raise will be given"; in effect, the wage will have been reduced by 20 percent. If it is considered necessary for productivity that the wages of the skilled worker be higher than those of the unskilled, would it not have been more humane and conducive to social peace to maintain the minimum standard of living of the worker and increase the wages of the skilled workers on that basis?

The issue will be carried further and a solution along the lines of "when the YHK renews the contracts, it can, by eliminating over a 4- to 5-year period social payments and incorporating them into wages, separate merged wages through realistic wage-increase resolutions" will be arrived at. To question such as, "If YHK serves for such a long term, doesn't this mean that the transition to democracy will also be delayed? If collective bargaining has led us to this poor situation, would not renewed free bargaining upset the system?" the answer will be, "The collective bargaining stage is not the immediate one. But even if it were necessary to enter this stage, it is necessary to have an organization above collective bargaining whose name and the definition of whose rights are left to the discretion of authorities but which, nevertheless, can exert a directive, restrictive influence over the negotiations."

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## CHARACTER PROFILE OF SAKIP SABANCI GIVEN

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 21 Mar 82 p 7

[Text] Sakip Sabanci is a well-known businessman. His statements and ideas are frequently published in newspapers. Here, we want to present him to our readers from an unknown side: His love of art.

For the past few years, Mr Sabanci has been collecting the paintings of old Turkish masters such as Osman Hamdi, Hoca Ali Riza, Huseyin Zekai Pasa, Nazmi Ziya and Calli. His reception rooms and corridors are decorated with these expensive paintings.

[Question] How did you acquire this interest, Mr Sabanci?

[Answer] I come from a poor family. We are originally from the Akcakaya village of the Talas district of Kayseri. The neighboring village of Zincirdere was inhabited by Greeks and Armenians. They had nice houses with carved ceilings. When my father made some money he bought the ceiling of an Armenian house in the neighboring village from the demolition crew. Then he had a room built for the ceiling. We still have that ceiling in our house in Kayseri. So my father had a natural love for fine arts. He bought a ceiling and had a room built for the ceiling. I was 4 or 5 years old at that time. I grew up under that ceiling. That ceiling had an impact on me.

By 1949 my father had expanded his business and he bought this house in Emirgan for 290,000 Turkish liras. At the time, my father's partner, Nuri Has--Kadir Has' father--told my brother: "Your father is insane. He is coming to Istanbul for only one month. If he stays at the Pera Palas Hotel, he will spend less than the interest on the money he spent on that house in Emirgan."

But Haci Omer the peasant bought the house and started filling it with antiques. He did not pretend he knew everything. He used to consult the experts. He became friends with antique dealers Portakal and Lutfu Selsevil and asked them for ideas. My father placed great importance on the value of a man. He always used to deal with specialized people. He was the one instilled the love for fine arts in me. I, too, consult the experts frequently and value specialization. I have learned to ask for advice and understand what I did not know previously.

I take a special interest in Turkish painters. For example, Osman Hamdi Bey has created masterpieces. One could easily ask whether Van Gogh is greater than Osman Hamdi Bey. It could well be that our painter is ahead as far as art goes, but there have been constraints on him. In Turkey, art has not had a market. Buying paintings requires money as well as intellectual sophistication. Furthermore, people in Turkey were for centuries indoctrinated with the idea that "pictures are sinful." There is a great gap between us and Europe in this respect. Now we must show interest in and preserve art so that Osman Hamdi's successors will create enthusiasm and fervor.

The government, too, must not neglect the arts. Two weeks ago I visited the Museum of Turkish-Islamic Arts. The director of the Museum is a knowledgeable and competent man, but he is constrained. The government has allocated a mere 500,000 Turkish liras for the Museum this year. What can you buy with that much money? The government is unable to spend money on such matters. If people like us do not show interest what will happen? Works of art will be lost to foreign countries in some manner.

[Question] When you invest millions of liras on such paintings and manuscripts do you not contemplate that they will be worth much more in the future?

[Answer] I am not looking at the issue from a viewpoint of profit alone. But I cannot break my habits; after all I am from Kayseri. I know that these are solid investments and that I will not lose money on such buys.

[Question] You mentioned being from Kayseri. What, in your opinion, are the characteristics of people from Kayseri?

[Answer] Being from Kayseri means being careful about earning and spending money. Earning and spending money are two closely related ideas. They cannot be separated from each other. Earning money is hard. Saving it is even harder.

For example, the farmer in Cukurova gets a yield of fifteen to one for his efforts. In Kayseri, the land is infertile and rocky; the farmer can get a yield of two to one for his efforts. Nature has made people from Adana generous. People from Kayseri have blisters on their hands from the hardships of making a living, so they care about the very last penny.

[Question] You lived in both worlds.

[Answer] Yes. We migrated to Adana from Kayseri. But my family has its roots in Kayseri. Consequently, thriftiness runs in our blood. For example, I always turn off the lights before I leave my office. My secretary says: "Sir, the janitors will turn the lights on after you leave to clean the place." I reply: "No matter." It is hard to break a habit.

For example, I drove hard bargains to buy these paintings that you see. When I buy something for a desirable price after a hard bargain I feel like a soccer player who has scored a goal.

[Question] In addition to loving the fine arts, you are reputed to have a weakness for children. Any particular reason for that?

[Answer] Everybody generally loves children. I have three children. My 12-year-old son is handicapped by birth. He cannot walk and he cannot speak. Naturally, my wife and I are both sad about this. Like all parents we wish our son were normal. This, however, has intensified my love for children.

In Europe, there are hospitals for children with such problems. There are hospitals in Greece. But there are none between Greece and Japan. Turkey did not have such hospitals either. Children with such problems need special care. Their parents need to be taught how to care for their children. Having been through the experience, I know the problems quite well and I am sensitive about the issue. To alleviate this problem in Turkey, we built a care center in Acibadem for spastic children. This center, which went into service in 1976, is the first institution in Turkey to train mentally retarded and paralyzed children.

[Question] Are you involved in other charity activities?

[Answer] I can show you a pamphlet. We are operating 19 institutions, including school dormitories, cultural centers, elementary schools and art schools. Of these, 8 are in Adana, 5 are in Istanbul and the rest are in Van, Kayseri, Izmit and Ankara. Fifty percent of my time is taken up by matters related to the [Sabanci] Foundation.

Mr Sabanci got up and brought a pamphlet from the other room. The pamphlet described the activities of the Haci Omer Sabanci Foundation. In addition to erecting buildings for various services, the Foundation gives out scholarships to 1,000 students each year.

On the first page of the pamphlet appeared the picture of a bust of Haci Omer Sabanci. An inscription on the pedestal of the bust said: "Only asses can be dishonest, foolish and haughty."

[Question] Did your father use that phrase frequently?

[Answer] Yes. Dishonesty is foolish. Why? Because dishonesty or anything done that is not right will one day come back and hit you or your children. My father was particularly irate about haughtiness. Because he came from humble beginnings. When he was young he slept on a cotton sack under the factory stairway. That is how he grew up. People used to laugh at him when he was trying to start his own business carrying bricks around. They called him "laborer Haci Omer," "machinist Haci Omer" and "restaurant operator Haci Omer." He was so hurt that he used to say: "Only an ass can be haughty." He also frequently used to say: "God takes what He gives."

[Question] Your father, as you say, started out as a poor laborer and rose up the ladder of success. Is there a story about how he became an industrialist? For example, how did he set up BOSSA?

[Answer] In 1952, Celal Bayar, the President of the Republic at the time, came to Adana. A banquet was given in honor at the Erciyes Hotel which we owned. My father walked up to Bayar and introduced himself.

Bayar began talking to my father:

"Master Haci, I hear that you built this hotel and restaurant. It is very nice. Can you do other things?"

My father was surprised:

"Such as what, Sir?"

Bayar explained:

"I started a calico factory in Nazilli. I clothed all the girls in the Aegean region. Why do you not build a factory here? You can process cotton and clothe all the girls in Cukurova."

That is how my father pledged to get involved in the BOSSA project. One day Celal Bayar sent word to Haci Omer to accompany him to Nazilli in the presidential train. My father joined him. When he returned home he looked upset. My mother asked what the problem was. My father said:

"I had no idea what I was getting into. I promised that I will build a factory. It turns out that this will take an enormous effort. I am scared."

He was scared but he did not withdraw. The BOSSA factory was completed in 1956. Celal Bayar came to Adana to inaugurate it. The Sabanci family will never forget his words that day. He said:

"Haci Omer, I asked you to build a calico factory to clothe and prepare dowry for the girls of Cukurova. You listened and I thank you. May God give you a long life. May God take from my life and add to yours for what you have done."

That speech was so significant. The phrase "may God take from my life and add to yours" expressed in soberest terms the faith in industrialization and creation of employment. That phrase was a charmer composed by Celal Bayar to create fervor among people. It worked very well on Haci Omer. Sometimes a single phrase enslaves people. A man thinks he is building a factory for himself. Men are mortal, but their work is eternal. Such works belong to the nation. Now Haci Omer is gone, but BOSSA remains.

[Question] Since we are talking about business, I want to ask you something. Recently, there has been frequent talk about rivalry between Sabanci and Koc. Is there any truth to these rumors?

[Answer] In the banking sector, the Sabanci group is more specialized and more experienced than the Koc group. We have more experience than they do because of Akbank. When we said "let us work together so that you can benefit from our knowledge," a certain unpleasantness arose. They said: "We do not need experts. You are passive partners. Do not meddle in our business. Stand aside." On the other hand, we have a 36 percent share. We cannot remain passive. Outside this issue, there are no problems. We are friends with the Kocs.



Vehbi Koc has done great services for this country. Today I can buy a new refrigerator for the price of a used American-made one that I bought from the PX shop in the U. S. base in Incirlik in 1957. We used to wait for many months and pay large sums of money to buy a used American car. Now we have the Murat [Turkish Fiat] cars. We have all these thanks to the efforts of Mr Koc.

When evaluating Mr Koc, one must look at his merits as well as defects. We are all human; we all have imperfections. Mr Koc has done great services for this country. I wish there were ten or twenty Kocs around.

There is one important difference between the Koc and Sabanci families. My father died at an early age. But when he was alive, he gave us certain responsibilities and authority; he gave us a certain sense of direction. After his death, we moved the business forward. Mr Koc is still alive--may God grant him longer life. His children have no sense of direction because their father is still alive. They have not yet taken over the business with full authority.

[Question] Does your group have the highest turnover in Turkey?

[Answer] The FORTUNE magazine publishes a ranking of that kind every year. This magazine says that Sabanci Holding has the highest turnover in Turkey.

[Question] Since when?

[Answer] We have been ranked the highest turnover company in Turkey for the past 4 or 5 years. Before that the Koc group was ahead of us. The Koc group has objected to our inclusion of Akbank's activities in our turnover figures. But we own 85 percent of Akbank. Akbank is our own work. FORTUNE magazine thinks so too and consequently has ranked us first in Turkey.

[Question] Is not the Cukurova group threatening your first-rank position?

[Answer] The Cukurova group is a youthful new company. They have been quite successful. But they do not represent a major factor in industry. They moved up quite fast in the banking field. I hope that not one but many companies come to the same level as the Sabanci group. Our group will be more dynamic if it believes that it will be surpassed. I am an advocate of competition.

[Question] Today six Sabanci brothers are running your factories. You appear to be working in harmony. But is it not possible that there will be fragmentation when the next generation takes over?

[Answer] When my father died, we joined hands under the umbrella of Sabanci Holding. If we had not done that we would never be able to preserve our unity. We are bound not to sell our shares in the Holding for 50 years. If anyone wishes to sell his shares, he must inform other shareholders of his intention in writing.

In fact, our most basic capital is our family unity. For example, every month or two months we organize a meeting of the "brothers." Last Sunday, Sevkettin flew from Frankfurt and Ozdemir returned from the United States just for this meeting. The agenda of the brothers' meeting was set 40 days prior to the meeting. From 9:30 am to 7 pm, each group president worked to reconcile any differences. We talked, we argued and we took joint decisions.

Naturally, it will be hard to preserve this harmony in the next generation. There was one Haci Omer and six sons. Now there are 25 grandchildren. It will be hard, but we will try to incorporate in our company rational methods used by other exemplary family firms which have managed to preserve their unity.

Our conversation with Sakip Sabanci had leaped from subject to subject. We had discussed everything from art to business. We walked together to the garden. The Bosphorus could be seen in all its majesty through the tall trees. The statue of a horse stood right across from the gate.

Mr Sabanci said: "Let me tell you the story of this horse.

"My father bought this house in 1949. He was interested in works of art. He heard about a statue of a horse in the residence of Mahmut Muhtar Pasa. I still do not know what cultural knowledge or education prompted Haci Omer the laborer to buy this statue from Mahmut Muhtar Pasa. Laborer Haci Omer from Kayseri--meaning that he attached a lot of importance to money--bought this statue for 40,000 Turkish liras in 1952.

"My father met Vehbi Koc in Mahmut Muhtar Pasa's mansion. Koc told my father: 'I will build the Divan Hotel. Let me have the horse; you take the deer.' My father told him: 'I like horses. I will take the horse; you take the deer.'

"In the course of the argument, the price of the horse was bid up. In the end, my father bought the horse for 40,000 Turkish liras. Then Koc told my father: 'Master Haci, you took the horse, let me have the deer.' My father said: 'No chance. If you had agreed from the outset, I would have one and you would have the other. Because of the disagreement I had to pay a lot of money for the horse. Now let us bid for the deer, so that you will pay a lot for the deer. Otherwise, I will buy it.' The bidding started once again. My father raised his bid until the price reached quite a high level.

"Mr Koc related me the incident years later and said that he circulated the story in writing throughout his company.

"Here, I would like to return to this subject: Art is a talent and an interest that comes naturally. Place a piano before four children. Even if they have had the same exposure to music, they will not be equally successful in playing it. Sometimes a child with a broken flute from Anatolia can turn out to be a good musician.

"So, my family's interest in art began with the gorgeous ceiling bought from the Armenian house in the Akcakaya village. As our means and sophistication grew, art became part of our life."

Sakip Sabanci is the son of Master Haci Omer, the laborer who, 40 to 50 years ago, picked cotton on the farm and sold it on the market. Today, Sakip Sabanci lives in a house adorned with articles worth millions of liras. He is able to pay hundreds of thousands of liras for a master's painting or the work of a calligrapher. He buys the works of young painters and hangs them in his offices in order to encourage art. The Sabanci Foundation built a cultural center in Adana providing the region with a 500-seat theater, a conference center and an art gallery.

Recently the foundation was laid in Ankara of a 250-million-lira--in 1980 prices--dormitory which will house 550 female students. The Sabanci Foundation has financed 19 installations such as dormitories, hospitals and schools. So far, 75,000 people have benefited from installations built by the Foundation and the scholarships it has provided.

As Turkey made its transition from the plow to the tractor, the Sabanci family moved from the cotton fields to industry. Today, 35,000 people are employed at installations operated by Sabanci Holding. In Turkey, the doors between social classes are ajar. The dynamic strength of free enterprise can easily open those doors. The problem is to instill the determination to industrialize in the hearts of Haci Omers and provide incentives and opportunities for them.

9588

CSO: 4654/242

## INCREASED KUWAITI INVESTMENTS EXPECTED FOLLOWING EVREN VISIT

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 24 Mar 82 p 8

[Report by Ozer Yelce]

[Text] Head of State Kenan Evren's contacts in Kuwait have resulted in certain turning points in Turkey's policy of opening up to the Middle East.

Several developments during Evren's talks were noteworthy from a viewpoint of political and economic relations. These developments, which go beyond the cooperation agreements signed with other countries, are very interesting. The difference lies in the "investments instead of credit" approach.

For example, one interesting aspect of the framework agreement signed with Kuwait is the fact that shipping and fishing issues were included in the accord. Kuwait is known as the fishing center of the Middle East and has utilized very well the fish harvested from the [Persian] Gulf. The attempt to initiate cooperation in this field is interesting from a viewpoint of reviving a sector which has been neglected so far.

In evaluating this visit from a contemporary viewpoint--which emphasizes the importance of economics in political relations--one must assess the political as well as the economic significance of Turkey in the region.

During Head of State Evren's visit to Kuwait, Turkey was given several promises of investment and was assured of contribution in many business fields by this rich country.

Several joint investments have already been undertaken with Kuwait in a framework of cooperation. Kuwait has a substantial stake in Turkey through its investment credits and actual investments in the fertilizer and glass industry fields. With this new agreement, additional Kuwaiti petrodollars are expected to be injected into new industries and businesses.

Prospective industries targeted for such investments include the ammonia complex in Gemlik and the fertilizer industry in Mersin. It is reported that Kuwait is relatively cool to the idea of enlarging the Aliaga Oil Refinery.

Banking was another issue that became the subject of lengthy talks in Kuwait. Kuwaiti laws do not permit the operation of foreign bank branches in that country. On the other hand, the opening of representative offices for Turkish banks in Kuwait, which is the trade center of the Middle East, is important from a viewpoint of opening up to the region. Future closer cooperation between the two countries on issues of construction and consulting is gratifying for Turkish contracting firms which have already earned renown in Middle Eastern countries.

The issue of tourism had an interesting place in the talks. Talks on establishing regular Turkish Airlines flights to Kuwait with the purpose of carrying tourists yielded positive results. Thus Turkey has realized the importance of and has begun utilizing the Middle East tourism factor which it had neglected so far.

The second aspect of the talks involved political assessments. In these modern times when politics and economics go hand in hand, statesmanship partly involves being a businessman. Consequently, these days ministers act like businessmen in matters related to foreign relations. This fact was particularly visible during the talks in Kuwait.

Economic talks which came on the footsteps of political talks showed how closely the two issues are related.

During his visit, Head of State Kenan Evren was particularly interested in energy issues and asked questions about Kuwait's water problem indicating that Turkey is interested in selling water to that country.

The equivalent of the Turkish term "cheaper than water" is "cheaper than oil" in Kuwait. Consequently, Head of State Evren's interest in Kuwait's water problem and his desire to sell Turkish water to that country was justified.

Lengthy talks were held in Kuwait, political and economic issues were reviewed and a framework agreement was signed.

What will happen now?

A possible scenario is: Middle Easterners see Turkey as the "place where Europe ends and Asia begins." By using its geographic position to maximum advantage, Turkey can, without turning its back on the West and without losing its place in the West, serve as a bridge to the Middle East and act as a geographical leader for the region while serving its own political and economic interests in the area. The latest moves in the region testify to the validity of this assessment.

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## OZAL DISCUSSES ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SYRIA

Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 25 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] Ankara--Deputy Prime Minister Turgut Ozal returned to Ankara yesterday after completing his 4-day visit to Damascus which was undertaken at the invitation of Syrian Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah. In a statement to the press, Ozal said: "We had lengthy talks with the Syrian President, the Prime Minister and other government officials. We envisage a serious rapprochement for future cooperation."

Important Step

Noting that the agreements and the protocol signed with Syria represent an important step, Ozal said:

"We drafted a general protocol with particular emphasis on trade matters. We delivered to the Syrians a list of goods we can sell them. We told them that we can deliver our goods on short notice. It is the first time that this is happening in Turkey. Some goods will have delivery times of 3 months, others will take 6 months to 1 year. Capital goods are the ones that will take a longer time to deliver. Syria is a \$9-million market. Furthermore, it constitutes an important step toward opening up to the Arab world.

"Currently, we are giving the Middle Eastern countries the attention we had not given before. However, this does not mean that we are breaking away from the West. Instead of developing our relations with our neighbors--like the Europeans are doing--so far all we have done is laying mines along our borders. This, naturally, has meant the underdevelopment of population centers near the border."

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## PRIVATE SECTOR SAID TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST OZAL AUSTERITY PROGRAM

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 28 Mar 82 p 4

[Text] It has been learned that certain industrial and business circles, squeezed by the tight money and credit policies, have, in the last few weeks, launched an extensive campaign against the current Stability Program and that they will use the unemployment issue against their chosen target [Deputy Prime Minister] Turgut Ozal in an effort to bring the Stability Program to an end. According to business circles, those who are discontent with the direction in which the economy is moving are working on a theme of "Turgut Ozal phobia."

## Credit Markets

The shortage of money and the subsequent high cost of credit continue with all their severity in all money markets. The average annual interest cost on bank loans extended to reputable firms which can come up with the necessary collateral currently hovers around 60 to 70 percent. There are no indications in sight that these rates will drop soon.

It is reported that those who thought the shortages brought by the Stability Program were only temporary or did not realize the gravity of the "belt tightening" policies--that are being implemented so seriously and so uncompromisingly for the first time in Turkey--now face a dilemma which goes beyond the pain of the squeeze.

There are now an increasing number of debtors who are so far from being able to pay back the principal of their loans that they have to borrow even more to keep up with the interest payments. Some of these debtors are in so serious trouble that in order to secure loans--at astronomical rates--from brokers and usurers, they have to use such life savers as postdated checks and promissory notes and to mortgage their property and accounts receivable.

## Opponents' Trump Card: Unemployment

It is observed that last year's silent opposition against Ozal has now been transformed into an open campaign which focuses on the rise in unemployment in the last few months and the sensitivity of the public, the labor unions and the press to that issue.

It is reported that some of those involved in the campaign are truly affected by the crisis while others are motivated by noneconomic considerations. One group within the campaign "to erode Ozal" is reported to be fundamentally opposed to a free-market economy and the system itself while the rest are said to be under the influence of certain circles.

On the other hand, enterprising firms which have managed to adapt to the new conditions by taking courageous measures maintain that 1981 has been a successful year and that when the balance sheets are reported they will show healthy and satisfactory profits. These firms do not see any reason why 1982 should not be even better. According to these firms, the problem stems from the infrastructure of the economy and the bureaucracy rather than current monetary policies.

#### Ozal Phobia

It is observed that the industrialists are the ones most affected by the recession and the financial crisis brought by the Stability Program. Even so, it is observed that those who advocate increasing the purchasing power of wage earners and speeding up trade and investments on the market by providing cheap credit carefully avoid mentioning Turgut Ozal's name in their often harsh criticisms. However, in private conversations and discussions Ozal is the favorite shooting target. Discontent groups who oppose the economic decisions, but are reluctant to speak publicly against them have invented a new phobia: "Ozal phobia."

#### Turkish Union of Chambers

The Turkish Union of Chambers [TUC] maintains that it basically agrees with the Stability Program, that inflation is the most important current problem and that everything possible must be done to overcome that problem.

TUC President Mehmet Yazar is not entirely happy with the high interest rates on bank loans and has reiterated proposals to bring those rates down. Yazar is particularly concerned with rising costs and the issue of the State Economic Enterprises. He has demanded that the burdens on banks be reduced and that the banks be forced to work productively.

#### Former Turk-Is President Halil Tunc

The harshest criticism against Ozal comes from Halil Tunc who, for many years, served as the President of Turk-Is [Turkish Confederation of Labor]. Tunc recalls that while working for the Sabanci group Ozal had decided that the economy must be directed from a single center. He says that Ozal finally "realized his dream 7 years later." Tunc is deeply angered by the faithful support given to the 24 January 1980 decisions by employers like Ali Kocman and Nuh Kusculu. He says in an ironical tone: "This patriotic stance of our employers' brings tears to my eyes." Halil Tunc claims that the 24 January decisions have driven the country into poverty, unemployment and disease.

#### Istanbul Chamber of Commerce

Although he has held a government position for the past 3 months, Istanbul Chamber of Industry Executive Council President Nurullah Gezgin does not talk as much as the other ministers. Nevertheless, Gezgin has repeatedly stated his



support for the Stability Program. Gezgin says: "The purpose of this program is a transition into a free-market economy. In that sense, it is undebatable. However, the concept that the whole industry and the economy can be restored to health by the momentum provided by the export-based industries is unrealistic. The translation of increased demand into cost inflation is another dangerous trend."

#### Eskisehir Chamber of Industry

The leaders of the Eskisehir Chamber of Industry headed by Assembly President Mesut Erez and Executive Council President Yavuz Zeytinoglu have repeatedly criticized the policies being implemented. They believe that the currency exchange and tight credit policies in force are following a dangerous trend. They maintain that nobody has a right to curb investments and employment, to force high costs and to push industry into a secondary position. Former Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization Bilsay Kuruc says: "In finance, authoritarianism is not a good approach. It is necessary to allow for some flexibility and to study and learn from the past rather than criticize it."

#### Istanbul Chamber of Commerce

Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Executive Council President Nuh Kusculu defends the 24 January 1980 decisions and the measures implemented in the 2 years since then. According to Kusculu, measures which can revive the economy without spurring inflation are: The re-evaluation system must be legalized; declarations of worth must be returned, corrected and resubmitted; taxes must be revoked on the transfer shares and any income derived from such transfers; banks must be spared the legal burdens which push up the cost of credit.

#### Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions

Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions Executive Council President Halit Narin appears to be the harshest opponent of the Stability Program. His proposal to enter 1982 with "different approaches" was reported by some news agencies as "Narin is looking for a new economic model." In recent talks, Narin corrected misinterpretations by saying: "There is no need for a new economic model; we must reform the measures in force within their own framework." Narin complains about the integration of banks with holdings as well as credit costs and their distribution.

#### Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association

Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association [TIBA] Executive Council President Ali Kocman is an unmitigated supporter of the Stability Program. TIBA's few but economically influential members all seem to be in support of the Program.

The following words by Kocman are noteworthy: "The Turkish private sector cannot support inflation, which has had a destructive effect on all accepted norms. Until very recently, workers were given raises of up to 200 percent. Such possibilities caused by inflation have now been ended. Naturally, each sector of the society will carry its share of the sacrifices necessary. Inflation is the worst of bad habits. For that reason, tight money policies must continue."

Kocman has always maintained his optimism about Turkey's economy and future and has always expressed this view. He says: "I did not lose my optimism even when Turkey was going through its worst economic period. Current conditions are more favorable for being optimistic. Therefore, I have more positive expectations from 1982 than I had from 1981."

#### Istanbul Chamber of Industry

Istanbul Chamber of Industry Assembly President Ibrahim Bodur reiterated many times last year that the policies in effect are cruel and that if they continue no industry in Turkey will be left intact. Bodur opposes Ozal's proposal to build 35-square-meter matchbox-houses. Once he said: "Ozal wants to put us in coffins before we die. Let us live our mortal lives as we like."

#### Aegean Chamber of Industry

Aegean Chamber of Industry Assembly President Sinasi Ertan has always been in favor of a competitive free-market economy. To that end, he once said: "The 24 January decisions are the most serious and most consistent measures taken in the history of the Republic and can achieve their goals in a short period of time."

However, Ertan has not failed to note the stagnation in investments and the issue of unemployment and has been particularly vocal about the shortcomings of a high interest rate policy. Ertan says: "The high interest rate policy has done its job. The authorities stated 6 months ago that interest rates would come down. The rates have failed to come down and, furthermore, some banks continue to pay 60 percent interest on deposits and charge 80 percent interest on loans. These conditions show that there are serious errors in monetary and credit policies. These policies must be rectified as soon as possible and interest rates must be lowered to the level of the inflation rate."

#### Turk-Is

The Turk-Is Executive Council has demanded that the "tight money policies be abandoned" and that the "fear of inflation not be overexaggerated." In a statement issued after its last Executive Council meeting, Turk-Is maintained that unemployment is the most important current problem, that labor-intensive investments must be encouraged and that the fear of inflation is being propagated by people who have no authority. Turk-Is added that the OECD has views similar to their own.

#### Our View

[Commentary by Ertugrul Soysal]

Money has ceased to be what it was. Upsetting the monetary system by pumping inflation means disaster for our economy and maybe for our country. No one has yet found a superman or a miracle system which, without resorting to monetary policies, can halt the calamity of inflation which has brought chaos to societies and which has destroyed low income groups and wage earners.

There is no economy which, after sinking into a quagmire and losing its international reputation, has managed to recover without resorting to so-called austerity measures aimed at stabilization. What is debatable is the dosage of the measures. It is a fact that tight money, recession, stagnation, lack of investments and unemployment are contained in the very structure of the stability measures.

Today, stagnation and unemployment are common in all countries, whether capitalist or communist. In the past few years during which Turkey began establishing close links with foreign economies, Turkey improved its balance of payments and registered positive gains in all its sectors as well as its national income despite the tight money policies it implemented. In Turkey, employment is not falling. What is happening is that small rises in the employment capacity are unable to absorb the demand produced by the rapidly increasing population. This problem will remain until Turkey reduces its population increase rate to 1-1.5 percent like other developed countries.

We believe that 1982 will be a trial period for the Stability Program. During that time, there will be no shortage of reports about crises and bankruptcies on the market. But our policy of a closed economy, which has oppressed Turkish consumers for so long, has taken a definite turn toward safer waters. The sacrifices made by the Turkish people, the security and happiness brought by 12 September [1980] and a government which is free from political compromise are the main factors in this development which foreigners find hard to believe.



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## OZAL REPORTS ON RESULTS OF VISIT TO IRAN

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Mar 82 p 8

[Text] Ankara--Special--The minister of state and deputy prime minister, Turgut Ozal, said a firm agreement has been reached with Iran to export \$500 million worth of goods to that country. Ozal made this statement on his return from an official visit to Iran yesterday. Ozal said total exports to Iran may reach \$1 billion as a result of other agreements that may be signed in the next few days. Ozal also said that as of March 1982 Turkey will import 4 million tons of oil from Iran and that an agreement has already been reached to this end. Ozal further stated that various steps will be taken to speed up transportation, which has become a great problem.

Together with Ozal--who noted that his visit to Iran, on which he was accompanied by about "100 industrialists and businessmen," was very successful--200 public officials and private sector representatives returned home on his special plane. Noting that there was great demand for a visit to Iran, Ozal said: "On our arrival in Iran we found another 200-300 [Turkish] delegation members there." In his statement in Ankara, Ozal said:

"The organization (of our visit) in Iran was really very good. We had very fruitful talks. We also observed that the present government and regime in Iran has stabilized itself after overcoming its problems. We signed various protocols with Iranian officials in the fields of trade, economy, industry, transportation and communications. We examined the trade between the two countries and decided to increase the volume of trade. In this respect, we agreed to import 4 million tons of oil under reasonable conditions. At present, we have made a firm commitment for exports amounting to \$600 million. However, together with the agreements to be signed, total exports will be about \$1 billion.

"The main items to be exported under these agreements are 250,000 tons of wheat; 300,000 tons of barley; 300,000 tons of sugar; 25,000 tons of beef, cheese and margarine; 12,000 tractors; and various quantities of iron and steel and steel pipes. In addition, great strides were made regarding industrial and technical cooperation. An agreement in principle has also been reached on undertaking a joint feasibility study regarding the pumping of Iranian oil through Turkey, supplying Turkey's natural gas requirements and the question of joint transportation of gas to Europe through Turkey in the

future. We will also continue to work on the question of trading electricity and on the question of communications. The important thing is the very close attention we received at the meetings. Together with these agreements, we also established a joint economic commission. This commission will hold its second meeting in Turkey within the current year. As a result of this visit, a significant amount of Turkey's oil requirement has been secured under favorable conditions. We want to maintain such developments with other neighboring countries too."

Answering questions put to him by journalists regarding foreign press reports alleging that a pro-shah army is being organized in eastern Turkey against the present Iranian regime, Ozal said such reports had no negative effect at the talks held between the two countries. Ozal added: "Negative reports always coincide with the establishment of these kind of relations."

The signing of "oil-goods" barter agreements between Turkey and Iran has created a transportation problem involving at least 1 million tons of goods in 1 year.

Prior to the Turkish delegation's departure from Teheran, Ozal and the Turkish businessmen had an informal meeting and discussed the transportation problem facing the exporters.

Ozal said: "The government will take the necessary steps regarding this really important problem." Ozal also "asked the private sector to assist government in the solution of this problem."

Regarding the steps to be taken by the government, Ozal made the following promises to the businessmen:

"1. The implementation of (C) card will be lifted. The prime minister had already gave instructions on this matter.

"2. On the oil transportation issue, certain new measures will be taken.

"3. Hopa port will be allocated to those Turkish exporters who ship goods from Istanbul and Izmir by Ro-Ro [Roll on, Roll off]. However, Trabzon and other ports will be allocated to foreign shipping companies.

"4. Hopa port will be equipped with the necessary docking facilities. This can even be done by the shipping companies themselves. In fact, transportation companies have already informed us that they themselves want to build the Habur bridge, which provides a land connection with Iraq."

Meanwhile, as preparations are being made to increase the cargo planes of THY [Turkish Airlines], a Turkish businessman has already reached a preliminary agreement with the Iranian Government to operate the grounded Boeing 747 planes of Iran Air that are equipped with refrigeration systems.

Ozal said that if and when an earth satellite station becomes operational in Iran, 40 channels may be allocated to Turkey and that other communications measures will be examined.

Meanwhile, talks concerning the resumption of commercial flights between the two countries by Turkish Airlines and Iran Air, on a twice-weekly basis, will begin after the 21 March Nevruz Holiday [Iranian New Year].

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## EXPORTS EXCEED PROJECTED LEVEL IN 1981

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] Economic News Service--With December 1981 exports at over \$600 million, total exports in 1981 reached \$4.7 billion compared with \$2.9 billion in 1980, an increase of 61.6 percent. As a result of the December export figures, which are higher than expected, 1981 export revenues exceeded the projected level. For the first time in Turkey's history, the value of exported industrial goods took first place from agricultural products and hit the \$2.3 billion mark.

According to figures published by the State Statistical Institute, exports of industrial goods in 1981 increased by 118 percent compared with the previous year. The export of industrial goods in 1980 was, for the first time, more than \$1 billion. In 1981, industrial exports exceeded \$2 billion. In 1981, agricultural exports increased by 32.8 percent compared with 1980 figures and reached \$2.2 billion. Exports by the mining sector increased by 1.3 percent and reached \$193 million. The proportion of industrial exports in total exports was, for the first time, larger than that of agricultural exports. The proportion of industrial exports rose to 48.7 percent, whereas the proportion of agricultural exports remained at 47.2 percent.

Compared with 1980 figures, Turkey's exports in 1981 increased by 61.6 percent and its imports by 19.2 percent, reaching \$9.1 billion. The proportion of oil imports in total imports was \$3.5 billion. However, if \$227 million worth of crude oil, imported in 1980 but included in 1981 accounts, is deducted from the actual value of oil, then imports in 1981 remain at the \$3.2-billion level. According to State Statistical Institute officials, as a result of this, the import figures for 1981 were \$9.9 million [as published].

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## BRIEFS

GROWTH RATE PREDICTION--Ankara News Agency [ANKA]--Deputy Prime Minister Turgut Ozal said: "Turkey will not be able to solve its problems with a growth rate of 4.5 or 5 percent. We could not then overcome unemployment." Answering questions by ANKA, Ozal noted that "in 1983 the growth rate must reach 6 percent and later 7 percent. Ozal added: "With the help of God, if our new agricultural production achieves certain levels we might be able to obtain higher growth rates." Noting that the 1983 plans are being prepared with this fact in mind, Ozal said Turkey's return to the European money market for credit is also based on this fact. Ozal further said that the amount of credit required for the implementation of plans can be secured through the banking system. Declaring that Turkey has never given up its aim of becoming an industrial country, Ozal said that to achieve this goal there must be no interference in the economy. [Text] [Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Feb 82 p 4] 9558

CSO: 4654/218



## KOHL FEELS POSITION AS CDU/CSU LEADER IS SECURE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 10 May 82 pp 24-26

[Text] CDU leader Kohl is certain of victory: He sees himself as the Union's only candidate for the chancellorship, whether the coalition lasts until 1984 or not.

Naturally he had no objections, Minister for Economics Otto Count Lambsdorff informed the chairman of the CDU/CSU fraction in the Bundestag, if Helmut Kohl became chancellor in a new coalition of the Free Democrats with the Christian Union.

The liberal assured the chairman that he was in no way making the change dependent upon Schleswig-Holstein's Minister-President Gerhard Stoltenberg assuming the post of the government leader in Bonn. This was foolish gossip from those close to him and he had given orders to stop it.

The leader of the opposition graciously took note of the declaration of devotion from the FDP aristocrat. The feeling of sovereignty is so strong in the Kohl camp that his closest associates are secretly criticizing the count's attempts to ingratiate himself.

They are saying that Stoltenberg celebrated too soon when Lambsdorff raised his expectations last year. One advisor to Kohl said: "Count Otto's lack of loyalty is remarkable." The way he was now attacking the SPD coalition partner, however great the schadenfreude among the Union, boded ill for a common future together.

Kohl thinks that he can feel in Bonn and in the country generally that there is no longer any question that he will be the next chancellor. Again in recent private conversations with a group of Bonn journalists or when visiting Duesseldorf industrialists in the circle of former ambassador and foreign trade advisor Sigismund von Braun, Kohl confidently predicted the imminent end of the coalition: It was no longer a matter of whether, but only of when and what comes next.

In public opinion polls, the CDU/CSU was a good 13 points ahead of the social liberals at the end of March, with 52.7 percent (Allensbach) and 52 percent of the vote (Infratest)--the SPD was struggling with 31.4 percent (Allensbach) or even 30 percent (Infratest), the FDP remained at 8.4 percent (Allensbach) and 9 percent (Infratest). Infratest sees the Greens for the first time nationwide with 8 percent, according to Allensbach they had 6.7 percent at the end of March.

According to Allensbach, the Union is now far ahead as the strongest party, favored by all segments of the population. Even among workers it now has more followers than the Social Democrats (CDU/CSU: 42 percent; SPD: 41 percent).

It is understandable that the "excitability" (Kohl) is gone, the man from the Palatinate is extremely relaxed. He is self-assured, as he was in his best days as the Minister-President in Mainz. Even his speech, usually convoluted and full of redundancies, seems purged. Even his opponents concede that the status reports to the fraction are no longer muddy, he has become more precise.

Helmut Kohl, the German champion at biding his time, who survived first his defeat in the national elections in 1976 and then the fight against Franz Josef Strauss as a candidate for chancellor, has been able to exploit the Bavarian's failure. Now he is enthroned in the front row in parliament and no one can pass him.

He intends to stay put and wait patiently, until the chancellorship comes to him, almost by itself. He observes of himself that he has become calm, ever since he grasped that it is not worth while running after the FDP. Either it will come by itself, or it will not come--and that is not so terrible either. In that case, he will continue to wait and lead the CDU/CSU to an absolute majority in 1984.

CSU leader Strauss promised Kohl in writing that he is the top man in the CDU, if there is a change in this legislative period. Kohl has already worked out himself that he is assured of the candidacy for the chancellorship for the next regular Bundestag elections: He explained to friends that the all-important support of the CSU will be his, his "friendship as a man" with FJS guaranteed it.

Already he has handed over a good part of the chancellor's power to the Bavarian. According to the terms of their pact, the CSU leader would be in control as minister of finance in Bonn. Kohl has promised him unlimited protection for the 7 lean years which Strauss estimates will be needed to restore the financial situation to good health.

Kohl has also sacrificed his ties to his old friend, secretary general Heiner Geissler, in favor of the CSU chairman. If, as minister of finance, Strauss starts to cut deeply into the social network, the CDU left-winger will appeal in vain for Kohl's help. There will definitely be no money for the social benefits that Geissler has promised.

The CDU chairman is a comfortable partner for the Bavarian. Strauss believes that he will be able to control Kohl better than, for example, the economics and financial expert Gerhard Stoltenberg who, unlike Kohl, could interfere with him in his area of expertise.

Kohl is calculating that for a candidacy in 1984 he already has the CDU of Baden-Wuerttemberg behind him, as well as the Union in Hesse, the Rhenish CDU under Kohl's protege, Bernhard Worms, and even sections of the Westfalian party, led by Kohl's opponent Kurt Biedenkopf.

With the support of a majority like this, Kohl plans to seek the preliminary vote at the next regular party congress in 1983. Kohl's advisors explain the plan,

saying that if Lower Saxony's Ernst Albrecht or Stoltenberg from Kiel wants to challenge him for the candidacy, they would have to contest the party chairmanship, and neither one wants to do that.

The opposition leader also plans to argue that any battle of personalities will only reduce the Union's chances in the election, and they have seldom been so good. In any event, the Greens would weaken the SPD and the FDP, and the liberals could possibly lose their old role as creators of a majority. Even if the Greens were not to clear the five-percent barrier, they could draw so many votes away from the Social Democrats and Free Democrats that the crucial parliamentary seats would fall to the Union for the absolute majority.

The CDU leader's mood of victory is made complete by the fact that the trend has turned away from the SPD for a long time to come. Now there is "a fairly broad" movement, almost rooted in the irrational" (Kohl) toward the Union: It enjoys the greatest trust that it can stimulate the economy. FDP chairman Genscher has observed something similar and he makes fun of the new love of the national soul for the Union with these words: "Eyes closed, CDU."

In fact, the latest poll by the Contest Institute in Frankfurt showed that the voter attributes significantly greater competence in most factual matters to the Christian Democrats than to the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats: In the fight against unemployment, in guaranteeing a stable economy, in restoring fiscal health and in policy concerning aliens.

Kohl likes to produce figures like this, when the talk in his own camp turns to his inadequacies in economic and foreign policy: The trend toward the Union has thrust the question of the competence of the candidate for the chancellorship into the background.

Kohl is also counting on Chancellor Helmut Schmidt not being able to regain momentum, even if the economy improves: The poor situation in the job market will continue in spite of an improvement, unemployment among young people will increase. The SPD carried Schmidt only as long as he was good for success; there is no emotional attachment to a weak Schmidt.

Kohl believes that if the coalition in Bonn should survive this year, the Social Democrats will drop the unsuccessful Schmidt before 1984, perhaps in exchange for the Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia and newly elected SPD deputy Johannes Rau.

According to Kohl, planning for an assumption of power during the legislative term is "equal in importance" to the prospects for 1984. However, he is trying to suppress premature rejoicing among his followers: Kohl wants to forestall criticism from his own ranks of the opposition leader, just in case things do not quite work out once again.

Kohl is unshakably convinced that the change of government will be decisively influenced by when the vast majority of the Free Democrats see their chances of survival better assured in a government led by the Union. This "process of re-

thinking" is still under way, and the results of the Landtag elections in Hamburg and Hesse could be of assistance in it.

The CDU leader is in no doubt that his close friend Genscher would like to be next to him. At the moment, the FDP chairman is not certain whether his party would follow him. The last Infratest study shows that 63 percent of FDP voters still want the party wing closer to the SPD to win in any infighting surrounding a change in the government.

The opposition leader considers it to be Genscher's problem, and not his, whether some FDP Bundestag delegates would refuse to elect Helmut Kohl as the new chancellor following a resignation by Schmidt. Genscher has to maintain his party's ability to form a coalition. Besides, this is very familiar, according to Kohl, first everyone indulged in fine words and when the situation became serious, they either voted with or abstained, as long as this did not endanger the majority.

The CDU chairman no longer puts any trust in the promises and appeasements of the FDP leader: "I will not believe that Genscher is jumping, until he has landed among us, otherwise he will turn around in midair again."

For the time being, the liberal is not making any appearances on the diving board. For some time he has consciously avoided making a personal appearance with Kohl. Genscher the lawyer says: "I am concerned with avoiding even the appearance of wrongdoing, as it said in the old divorce law." And he continued: "But that has never helped very much."

9581

CSO: 3103/457

## BRIEFS

COMMENTS ON HAIG VISIT--Athens--The talks between U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Greek leaders on 15 May did nothing to solve pending problems in spite of the officially expressed satisfaction from both sides. The secretary of state spoke of a "consensus" on the manner in which the issue of the U.S. bases in Greece should be treated, but was unable to announce a date for the resumption of the negotiations broken off one year ago. Moreover, nothing new was undertaken in relation to the guarantee of Greece's eastern borders against what Prime Minister Papandreu terms the "Turkish threat." Haig rejected the issue, noting that the United States would like to see it resolved on a unilateral basis within the NATO framework. The secretary of state also affirmed, during a press conference, that Greece played a "vital part" in maintaining peace and stability in NATO southeastern edge. However, the reception accorded him by Athens political circles was manifestly cold. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 18 May 82 p 5]

CSO: 4619/106

## GOVERNMENT THREATENS TO SEIZE PROPERTY OF GREEK MINORITY

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 27 Mar 82 pp 1, 11

[Words enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Greek Government is in the process of seizing the foundations and property belonging to the Turkish minority living in western Thrace, and the Turkish Government, in response, may seize and nationalize the property and foundations of the Greek minority living in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul. The bill giving authority in this matter to the government was adopted at a meeting of the Council of Ministers held yesterday. It was learned that the bill will be sent to the Consultative Assembly at the beginning of the coming week and that it will gain precision after it is discussed there. According to information obtained from government sources, the long-time Greek Government move to nationalize property belonging to foundations of the Turkish minority in western Thrace has led the Turkish government, acting on the principle of */"retaliation,"/* to prepare a bill that would have similar consequences for the Greek minority in Turkey. As has been known, Greece has for some time been moving to nationalize the foundations that are among the property of the Turkish minority in western Thrace. Moreover, the lands of the minority, which obtains its livelihood from agriculture, are also subject to nationalization in a similar manner. A recent example was the nationalization, for no apparent reason, of 750 acres belonging to our kinsmen of western Thrace in the village of Inhanli in Iskece. Upon the decision that their lands in western Thrace would be transferred to the treasury, the inhabitants of Inhanli village sued the treasury in court. The decision in this case, which was concluded in court last Monday, has not yet been announced. While the court is in the decision phase, according to the expression of one official, */"Concern is felt among our kinsmen that the decision will go against them."/*

Because of the moves toward nationalizing the foundations of the Turkish minority in western Thrace, which moves have been initiated for some time in Greece in a systematic fashion and have been advanced with increasing frequency since PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement Party] leader Papandreou became prime minister, Turkey several times appealed to Athens for information.

The fact that Turkey's requests for information remained unanswered, and the fact that the Greek Government persistently promotes a policy aimed at a

minority whose rights are guaranteed by international agreements, left the Turkish Government in the position of preparing a law that would lead to similar consequences in Turkey.

The bill accepted by the Council of Ministers is based on the principle of /"retaliation"/ and within this framework /"authorizes the adoption of similar measures."/ The government, relying on the authority acquired from this law, will be able to take /"similar measures"/ toward the minority in Istanbul, in response to the moves to nationalize the foundations of the Turkish minority in western Thrace.

According to information obtained from government circles, the bill providing the authority to nationalize the property and foundations of the Greek minority in Turkey was considered yesterday in a meeting of the Council of Ministers. The opinion was voiced that once the government makes a /"positive decision"/ on the bill, the text will be sent from the Council of Ministers to the Consultative Assembly within the coming week.

It is expected that the bill will be placed on the agenda of the General Council of the Consultative Assembly within the coming week, and that later, after it is approved by the MGK [National Security Council], it will be made law. The authority in the law will be used by the government /"when it is seen to be necessary."/

9962

CSO: 4654/261

## ALDIKACTI INTERVIEWED ON CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE'S PROGRESS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 13 Mar 82 pp 1,9

[Text] Ankara - Orhan Aldikacti who is President of the Constitutional Commission has said that "an unwritten constitution would not be suitable to our structure." Aldikacti described as "unimportant" an article stating that he was being followed by Security authorities on the allegation that he has been making suspicious contacts. Aldikacti was asked: "You have stated that you work 12-13 hours per day. Don't you get tired?" He replied: "I am unaware that I have said such a thing."

Who is Orhan Aldikacti, the President of the Constitutional Commission? What was he doing in Cyprus? In what manner had he participated in "the march to honor the Constitution of 1961?" What were his views concerning an unwritten constitution? The answers to these questions were the subject of interest. With the purpose of seeking some answers to these questions, a reporter from Cumhuriyet spoke with Aldikacti on 3 March at 19:00 hours.

INTERVIEWER - You stated that you are working 12 - 13 hours per day. Doesn't that get tiring ?

ALDIKACTI - I don't remember. I don't remember having said such a thing. In any case, that news item appeared in the newspapers on Sunday while I was in Istanbul. I left here on Thursday. It is incredible yet useless (to refute). I am not aware of the comment about the 12 - 13 hours. I may have said that we were working and getting tired. Am I making myself clear ? It is also stated that I have said that I will not occupy myself with politics. I am not at all aware of such a thing. One thing is certain: I wish to return to the university.

INTERVIEWER - The circumstances of your participation in "the march to honor the Constitution of 1961" is a matter of curiosity. It is being said that you marched like a



lion. (Turkish expression used to denote vigorous participation.) Is that true ?

ALDIKACTI - I remember the incident but not the location. A child by the name of Kuseyri had been murdered. Following this, Dean Ugur Alacakaptan of the Faculty of Law made an appeal across all of Turkey. In the process, he also appealed to our faculty. He obtained permission from the Governor's Office for a march to honor the constitution. As a result, we marched to show respect to the constitution and to bring about security of life. The things that Ugur Mumcu has written are true. What I cannot understand in any way is why they have become the subjects of an investigation concerning this matter. The activity took place with the permission of the Governor. Protection was provided to avoid attacks. I don't know why Ugur Mumcu has been arrested in connection with this. I also don't know why they shaved his hair. Perhaps he was caught in connection with something else and acquitted in the end.

INTERVIEWER - According to the papers of that time this march had concluded with an oath to the revolution. Did you also take the oath ?

ALDIKACTI - No. Mr Ugur Alacakaptan was not the one who administered that oath. Someone, whatever his name, got off the podium and administered the oath on the steps.

INTERVIEWER - There are certain proposals that advocate that the constitution be unwritten. It is being said that "If our constitution were to be one that is not written, no one in the future would be able to point at it and say that the country could not be governed by that constitution." Do you share in this belief ?

ALDIKACTI - Oh, like in England. I remember the point. We could not have an unwritten constitution. I constantly read Ugur Mumcu. Everyone should write like him, in a manner that is very gentlemanly and polite. They should not fabricate - that is very ugly.

INTERVIEWER - I have in my hand a document. In it, it is said that: This is to announce that Professor Orhan Aldikacti has been making certain contacts that are suspicious in nature. I respectfully request that in case the individual in question is seen within our region his activities be secretly followed and that the compiled

information be immediately relayed to this office.

ALDIKACTI - What kind of a document is that ?

INTERVIEWER - It is from security in Cyprus. It is designated as M/Em/d2-37, dated 24 March 1976 and originates from Galateia.

ALDIKACTI - Good God, I do not know. We went there and travelled around. It could have been in 1976.

INTERVIEWER - Did you cross into the Greek - Cypriot section ?

ALDIKACTI - In 1976 with whom did I go to Galateia ? It is Galateia that we are talking about and I may have gone to Galateia. That is normal. It is also possible that I may have gone there with foreigners. I may have gone there with Austrians and representatives from the UN. That is not important. Do you have a photocopy of this document ?

INTERVIEWER - Let me offer you one, sir.

ALDIKACTI - I would be delighted. I will call Denktas tonight and ask him about it. Do I make myself clear ?

INTERVIEWER - Sir, let me make a copy available to you.

ALDIKACTI - Does anyone other than you have one ?

INTERVIEWER - No sir, I am not showing it to anyone.

ALDIKACTI - A photocopy of it ...

INTERVIEWER - I will place it in an envelope at the assembly, seal the envelope and send it to you without showing it to anyone, sir.

Following this conversation, the reporter from Cumhuriyet placed the document within a yellow envelope, tightly sealed the envelope and forwarded it to Orhan Aldikacti, President of the Constitutional Commission. The result of Aldikacti's conversation with TFSC President Denktas remains unknown at this time. The one thing that is known is that it is possible for this document to have been drafted by evil hands for the purpose of villifying a distinguished citizen.

The Constitutional Commission is pursuing its work without interruption. The following line of reasoning predominates within the Commission in response to criticism maintaining that "the commission is working too slowly" :

"Criticism from the press claiming that the commission is working too slowly should be listened to but not taken too seriously. This is because those who criticize us at this time for working too slowly would be the first ones to dislike a constitution which we could prepare very hastily to escape their initial criticism."

An investigation has also revealed that the matter of the survey should also not be taken very seriously. Those who question the "capability of the Commission to prepare the constitution" because it has for months debated the "feasibility of a survey" should not forget that in every period of history the devil has interfered in hasty actions.

9491

CSO: 4654/247

## MUMCU SEES MORE POSITIVE APPROACH TO IDEOLOGICAL RIFTS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 23 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Commentary by Ugur Mumcu in column "Observation": "Practical and Constructive..."; material enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Ankara Martial Law Command, rescinding its actions with respect to 63 students that terminated their status as students /"for ideological reasons"/ after 12 September 1980, has once again recognized the right of these students to instruction. This decision is an important step in view of the conditions under which we are living.

It is becoming increasingly recognized that the terrorism that thrived in Turkey was based on a /"multinational"/ phenomenon. Every day new developments prove what an erroneous and superficial approximation it was to ascribe entire responsibility for the terrorism to the universities and university students.

According to one view, /"the source of terrorism is the universities"/ and /"the autonomy of the university"/ has aided terrorists!

Certainly there are in the universities people who have committed crimes and participated in terrorist activities. However, those involved in terrorist activities come from nearly every sector of society and from groups most closely associated with the most disciplined hierarchical order. The whirlwind of terrorism opens the way to ruin in every group of society. Virtually every group has its share in this whirlwind, to one degree or another.

The fact is that the most notorious terrorist organizations of 12 March 1971 were established in the ODTU [Middle East Technical University], which is by law not autonomous, and the first occupations and boycotts were begun in a trade school connected with the Directorate General of Land Registration and Survey.

It is known that before 12 March 1980 [as published] terrorist activities had become concentrated in secondary schools and in the /"education institutes"/ connected with the Ministry of National Education. Naturally, along with these, high school graduates unable to find a place in a university as well as the unemployed, termed the /"idle loafers,"/ played active roles in the terrorist activities.

There are a thousand and one different causes for terrorism. And terrorism is not a phenomenon peculiar to Turkey; the whole world is beset by the whirlwind of terrorism.

For this reason, it is implausible to interpret such a phenomenon, which is /"multinational"/ in scope, with the autonomy of the university or with university students. The causes are deeper.

Let us accept this: as long as the world turns there will be /"rightist"/ and /"leftist"/ ideas. There is no possibility of discounting these ideas or of eradicating their roots, and what is important is to ensure an atmosphere of free and civilized discussion and understanding for rightist and leftist ideas. Terrorism from the beginning is opposed to freedom of thought. As long as terrorism is not destroyed, democracy will not work, and as long as the roots of terrorism are not eradicated, /"rightist"/ and /"leftist"/ ideas will not be able to take their proper course. Terrorism, from the beginning, is the enemy of democracy.

If we look from this perspective, we cannot say that /"Before 12 September 1980 there was freedom of thought in Turkey, the constitution was in force, democracy was working perfectly,"/ and if we do say it we cannot be convincing.

Therefore, if we are faithful to democracy and to multiparty activity, we are obliged to cooperate, all together, to learn the causes of terrorism and to eradicate its roots. /"National unity"/ is gaining importance on this issue. Cooperation between /"rightist"/ and /"leftist"/ ideas at this stage is more essential than ever.

We consider this latest decision of the Ankara Martial Law Command with regard to the students to be practical in many respects. We believe that the extension of these measures will be extremely useful for the /"relaxation"/ and /"internal reconciliation"/ that are necessary for the agenda of democracy.

The establishment of a dialogue, with more relaxed relations, among individuals and groups and efforts at mutual understanding within an atmosphere of tolerance are the most important issues today.

We wish that out of so much blood and tears in the past, not the seeds of enmity but the flowers of peace and freedom, may greet the future.

9962

CSO: 4654/261

## OBJECTIONABLE PROVISION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS BILL EYED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 17 Mar 82 pp 1,11

["Observation" column by Ugur Mumcu: "An Objectionable Provision"]

[Text] The draft bill concerning the organization and functions of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship [RAC] is being discussed by the Consultative Assembly. On this occasion we would like to comment on a few points in connection with the draft bill.

The point we would like to comment on is related to the appointment of religious functionaries to foreign countries where there are large concentrations of Turks. According to Article 30 of the draft bill, "if the religious service needs of Turkish citizens or ethnic Turks living in foreign countries cannot be met by permanent personnel stationed in those countries," the following arrangement will be implemented: Religious functionaries, recommended by the RAC, will be appointed by the Council of Ministers and their salaries will be paid by "local organizations whose services in that country are deemed to be proper." These functionaries will serve 2-year terms, though it will be possible for them to serve consecutive terms.

The term "countries where Turkish citizens live" brings to mind the Federal Republic of Germany and the term "ethnic Turks" reminds us of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

With respect to meeting the religious needs of our citizens in Germany, the religious exploitation employed by some organizations is still fresh in our memory. These organizations turned mosques and places of worship into headquarters for certain political parties instead of using them as places to practice freedom of religion and faith as guaranteed by laws. Many government officials know better than we do that these organizations, in violation of Islamic faith which is based on the principles of brotherhood and peace, carried out political work in mosques and places of worship and attempted to use the honest religious feelings of our citizens for political ends.

The draft bill in question will provide legal cover for the religious exploitation so bitterly experienced in Germany and the Netherlands. Many individuals and organizations with political ambitions will make extensive use of this article in the law to have militants of their parties appointed as religious functionaries.

One can counter that by saying: "The government will select the local organizations which will pay the salaries of the religious functionaries abroad."

This is not a credible proposition. In the past, political parties exploited the freedom of religion and faith for ulterior motives. Certain "factions" were formed both within the RAC and the organizations in question with links to the orders of "Light," "Suleyman" and "Nakshbendi."

Several people determined, like numbered compartments, what parties, societies and organizations these orders infiltrated.

On one occasion, this newspaper showed and publicized by documents how RAC publications were distributed by publishing companies set up by the administrative staff of certain political parties and how religious publications and political propaganda were thus intertwined.

Now that these bitter experiences and examples are well known, will not a loophole on the basis of "local organizations whose services in that country are deemed to be proper" create problems which will be difficult to solve in the future?

We think that it will. In order to preclude such problems, "local organizations" which have been found guilty of being involved in religious exploitation in the past must be phased out and measures must be taken to prevent religious exploitation.

We are a nation that has suffered extensively from religious exploitation. Ataturk's principle of secularism was instituted to prevent religious exploitation. Will it not be a violation of the secularism of Ataturk as well as the principles of Islam to turn sacred beliefs into a toy in the hands of political parties?

This article of the draft bill implies such objectionable possibilities. On the other hand, there is nothing to be said if it can be stated: "No, there has been no religious exploitation either within the RAC or the religious oriented organizations abroad. There has been no infiltration of these organizations by the orders of Light, Suleyman or Nakshbendi."

Minister of State Mehmet Ozgunes, a retired lieutenant colonel and a veteran of the 27 May 1960 revolution, must think a thousand times about this article of the draft bill.

He must think so that a few years later someone will not tell him: "You were warned then, but you did not listen."

We are saying it; we are warning.

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CSO: 4654/245

END